

Why I am a Democrat.

The full & exact meaning of a word which is commonly used to distinguish a particular opinion from another which is generally supposed to be the antithesis of the opinion which is indicated by the word to be interpreted, can frequently be most readily arrived at by previously ascertaining the meaning of the word commonly used to describe the antithetical opinion; but I do not think that such a method of procedure can help me to explain what I intend to mean when I use the word democracy or democrat, because the word aristocracy which is usually regarded as designatory of the antithesis of democracy

cannot be properly confined
in its use to the description of
a type of society as constant
& precise in its essential charac-
teristics as is that type of
society which is properly des-
cribed as democracy. A so-
called aristocracy may be a
society in which all the
governing power is deposited
in the hands of ~~the few~~ those who
held it in the preceding
generation, that is to say in
the hands of an hereditary
aristocracy; or it may be a
society in which the govern-
ing power is exclusively in
the hands of the wealthy
members of the state that is
to say, what the Greeks
described as a Timocracy; or
it may be a society in which
the governing power is shared

by hereditary rulers with other members of the community who are possessed of the requisite amount of property or who are elected by the other members; or the word may be used to designate a society in which by some process of selection those who are supposed to be the ablest & most virtuous members of the community are appointed to govern it. It is very evident that the ~~condition~~ ^{position} of the great body of the people will greatly differ in relation to their rulers in each of the four ~~forms~~ varieties of so-called aristocracy which I have attempted to describe, but while the particular governmental machinery may vary in separate democracies, the position of the people in relation

to those entrusted with the governing power will be essentially the same in them all if they are such as can be truly described as Democracies. I shall therefore interpret the word Democracy for the purposes of this discussion without reference to any particular form of political machinery such as direct legislation by the whole body of the people or by a limited number of elected representatives or the relations of the legislative to the executive authority & the definition which I have decided to place before you as the most correct & comprehensive of my own opinions as indicated by the word democrat is the statement that I am a believer in the reality of the fundamental rights of man & that I accept

The affirmations of the declaration
of independence by the people
of the United States of America
that for strictly political purposes
all men must be regarded as
equal in the possession of the
inalienable rights to life,
liberty & the pursuit of happiness.
I know well that a large amount
of the so-called scientific investi-
gation of political problems
during the last half century
has produced a denial of the
~~doctrines I have undertaken to~~
~~defend~~ of the existence of any
such things as natural rights
of any kind whatever & that
the assertion of the equality
of men has been met by an
emphatic assertion of the in-
equality of men in their physical
intellectual & moral capacities
as proved by every day ex-

perience in every age & in every
country in the world, but I take
the liberty of replying to all such
arguments against the doctrines
~~inculcated in the declaration~~
~~of independence~~ of the ~~natural~~
fundamental rights & natural
equality of men by saying that
any attempt to distribute political
power ^{and property} or personal privileges in
proportion to the physical,
intellectual & moral inequalities
of men is an absolute impossibility
& that the only alternative to the
^{acceptance of the} doctrine of the natural equality ^{of men} as
a basis for the organisation of
society & the distribution of
political power is a creation
of artificial inequalities ^{for that} which
~~impose, upon the people, a system of alternating~~
~~between the two extremes of~~
~~oppression and freedom, which is actually~~
~~the worst of all.~~ ~~The whole course~~
~~majority of the people, the majority of the people, the majority of the people.~~
~~Human Society~~ ~~with which~~
~~adversity has been inseparably~~
and which has produced all the evils which
the history of the world exhibits as dependent on

political and social arrangements ~~exists~~ ^{exists} ~~which~~ ^{which}
~~is the transition from savagery~~ ^{is the transition from savagery}
to civilization but which by their
very existence, has condemned
the inequalities which have pro-
duced ~~the~~ ^{the} demonstrated the necessity
for their removal before humanity
~~can~~ ^{could} attain its highest development.

Society ~~consists of the individual~~
~~units who compose it~~ ^{it} & has no
existence whatever apart from
their mutual ^{of the individuals who compose it} intercourse & that
intercourse is primarily physical.
That is to say ~~the~~ ^{the} intercourse
~~is~~ on the part of animals who
are born of physical processes
grow & are sustained by physical
processes & who are urged to
their primary activities by
their animal ^{necessities and their animal} capacities for
pleasure & pain. In these I
confidently assert that all
men are broadly speaking
equal & so far as social.

Organisation exists for the protection of men's bodies from injury & the more perfect satisfaction of their animal ~~wants~~ necessities. Every member of the social organisation has an equal claim to the benefits it exists to bestow. The moral & intellectual capacities of men are developed by the social organisation & the environment it creates & if that environment were made ~~equal for all men~~ ^{the same for all men} ~~of the social organisation~~ their moral & intellectual capacities ~~for suffering & for enjoyment~~ ~~would~~ be as broadly equal as their animal capacities for pleasure & pain. It is therefore the differences in ~~the social~~ ^{the} environment of men that creates in the long run ~~the~~ from generation to generation their moral & intellectual differences & to deny the equal claim of all.

men to a recognition from society of
the same right to life, liberty &
the pursuit of happiness according
to ~~their capacities~~ is to become
involved in the self-contradictory
proposition that some men shall
be born into the world with
more than an equal claim
with others to those privileges
before it is known whether
their careers will be beneficial
or injurious to the social
organisation. It is this self-
contradictory proposition which is
actually put into practice when
society is organised & political
power & personal privileges dis-
tributed in accordance with ~~the~~
~~the artificial inequalities which~~
~~the social organisation produces,~~
~~as I have already observed that~~ ~~such an organisation of society~~
~~& such a distribution of political~~
~~power and personal privileges~~

~~have~~
* never failed to regret evils which ~~have~~
~~demonstrated~~ condemned them
as ~~distasteful~~ while inevitable in
the course of human progress have
demonstrated the inherent viciousness
of the ~~very~~ inequalities ^{by} which ^{they} have been
produced.

I am therefore ~~firstly~~
a democrat, firstly because the
distribution of political power and
privileges in accordance with the
~~own~~ physical, moral and
intellectual capacities of individuals
is an impossibility, and ^{because} the
~~political~~ organisation of society upon
a basis of ~~artificial~~ ^{the} accidental
~~and artificial~~ ^{inequalities} and artificial
inequalities of birth and wealth
~~inevitably produces~~ ^{inevitably} produces evils
that in proportion to their extent
and ^{their} intensity ~~condemns~~ the political
proclaim the institutions under which
they arise as ~~failures in regard~~

incapable of accomplishing the
highest and ultimate purposes
~~for~~ of ~~our~~ for which the social
organism ought to exist. In view
of this ~~act~~ aspect of the question I once
described myself in my place in
Parliament as a Democrat by
despair, because while believing
that all other systems were self-con-
demned by their distinctive fruits
I wished to guard myself ~~as~~ from
being understood as believing that
that the triumph of democracy would
~~renew~~ regenerate humanity and
~~desire it~~ expel evil from the
world. I indulge in no dream
like that; but I desire the abolition
of ~~artificial~~ every institution that
confers political power or personal
privilege as an appendage to birth
from a particular parentage or to the
possession of wealth as so many
obstacles to a more ~~perfect~~ efficient

~~Cooperation~~ marshalling and
cooperation of the energies of humanity
in its combat with the ^{inherent} ~~parts that~~
~~imperfections and limitations~~
evils that arise inevitably from the
imperfections and limitations of
man's nature. ~~The essential~~

~~Conditions of the~~ evoked the
highest efforts on the part of every
soldier ~~on the battle field is perfect~~
in an army in the hour of battle
~~is mutual affects~~

it is necessary that they ^{all} should
be ~~well~~ ^{mutually} animated by
a mutual ^{affection for one another and} confidence
in the ~~good faith~~ ^{and} the ~~courage~~
faithfulness, the courage and
~~effort~~ of each; for ~~any~~ ^{such} these
can be secured by only by ^{an} ~~an~~
equality of the ~~pre~~ conditions
of participation ⁱⁿ of the burdens
and the dangers ~~that the battle~~
entails. ~~As the people go to battle on~~
~~as the topographical and tactical~~
exigencies ^{require} them. ^{But where individuals}
~~these people are~~

appropriate our terms of permanent
~~terms of inequality~~ ~~there is constant~~
~~suspicion, envy, deference and~~
~~contemptuous indifference~~ in the
participation of burdens and privileges
there will be ^{either} distrust, suspicion,
~~and~~ resentment and rancour on
~~one side~~ or envy, deference and
servility on the one side; and a
corresponding distrust, suspicion
and hatred or ~~haughty~~ ~~contemptuous~~
~~and arrogant~~ ^{or} arrogance
and contempt on the other. All
~~these~~ such sentiments ~~are~~ ~~antithetical~~
are, ^{directly and} essentially ~~and~~ antisocial
in their ^{nature} ~~effects~~ and effects and tend
therefore to ^{the} disorganisation ~~in the~~
and disruption of the social and
political systems which produce them.
The ~~social~~ highest social ideal is
~~the association of men in perfect~~
~~all the members the~~ the participation
of all in of each and all in the
advantage of and joys of true comradeship

~~in the material world~~ in all that
makes our life, but this ideal
can never be realized ~~until~~
~~there is such~~ ^{without} an equality in the
~~material conditions and~~ mental
~~and spiritual~~ culture ~~as~~
and ⁱⁿ capacity of aspiration and
sympathy ~~such~~ ^{high} as can be
produced only after the removal
of these extreme inequalities of
material condition and political
power and privilege which
in the past have ~~separated~~ ^{separated} master
from slave ~~as~~, lord from serf
and peer from peasant and
made such comradeship impossible.

I am a Democrat secondly
because political power as an
eminent American jurist has
expressed it never goes begging. "The
desire for rule the passion for power"
he says "is, so far as the experience of

man kind shows anything, as
requisite for the continuation
of government as other passions
for the ~~continuation~~ continuation of the
race". Whether this statement is
strictly correct or not, we know
that the passion for power ^{is an} universal
element in human nature and as
~~that~~ ^{in the past men have not hesitated} when the opportunity has
offered ~~for~~ itself, ~~men have not~~
~~hesitated~~ ^{to make} through slaughter to a throne.
So in the present and in the future
political power will be desired
and eagerly sought for by every
means which the conscience of the
aspirant ^{will} permit him ^{to employ}
~~But~~ ^{There is} ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing} ~~which~~ ^{which}
~~can~~ ^{be} ~~possessed~~ ^{possessed} ~~of~~ ^{of}
~~which~~ ^{which} ~~power~~ ^{power} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~greatest~~ ^{greatest}
~~danger~~ ^{danger} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~hold~~ ^{hold} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~a~~ ^a ~~personal~~ ^{personal}
~~possession~~ ^{possession} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~much~~ ^{much} ~~danger~~ ^{danger}
~~to~~ ^{to} ~~others~~ ^{others} ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~used~~ ^{used} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~large~~ ^{large}
extent ~~there is~~ ^{there is} ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~a~~ ^a ~~man~~ ^{man}
can ~~use~~ ^{use} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~detriment~~ ^{detriment}
to others, and the temptation to

will be constant and in proportion
to his moral and intellectual
~~defects~~ ^{deficiencies} will the temptation prevail.
~~The disastrous results of the accumulation~~
The evil effects of the accumulation
of all political power in the hands
of one man is proved by the
history of every country in the
world where absolute monarchy
has existed. ~~But~~ ^{And} when the power
is exercised by an oligarchy ~~the temptation~~ ^{the temptation is not lessened}
~~is distributed among a few~~
~~the results to the people are~~
~~not so good as when it is exercised by one~~
~~man. The same temptation to~~
~~abuse of power is felt by the few~~
~~as much as in a despotism.~~
~~And much the same is the great~~
~~harm to the people. Still when~~
if the power is distributed among
a sufficient number to necessitate
the delegation of its exercise to a ~~single~~
~~member~~ ^{some} of the possessors
of it selected by the others, it will
continue as in the ^{two} previous cases

The exercise of the benefit of
the class and in disregard of
the welfare of all other persons. This
is the universal
testimony of history and in no
country has been more clearly
manifested and self-evident.
The essential benefits of the
constitution to the possession of the
political power
to the benefit of the possessors at
the expense of others and the certainty
of the maintenance of the
constitution has been more plainly
shown in spite of the influence
of the various schemes and other
influences that have been to the contrary
in England. Even so lately
as the middle of the present century
when the writers described the
government of England as a "corrupt
and inefficient machine" men
were as much for their

[illegible]

Handwritten text on a lined notebook page, written in cursive. The text is written across two lines and appears to be a list or a series of notes. The handwriting is somewhat slanted and the ink is dark. The first line contains several words, and the second line continues the text. The page is otherwise blank with faint horizontal lines.

own interest as they dare, and
do as little for that of others as
they can help; and in ~~the~~
~~his deduction from the history of~~
~~the parish the character of the legislation~~
~~of the English Parliament throughout~~
~~conclusion in he draws from the~~
~~history~~ in connection with the
same subject he declares that "if
there be no natural right, slavery is
the inevitable lot of the weak."

~~It is therefore evident that the~~
~~only safeguard against the oppression~~
In view of ~~such~~ this constant use
of political power by its possessors
to fortify ^{and augment} their own interests and
to depress and ~~the~~ ^{to} ~~oustail~~ ^{oppress} the interests
^{to oppress all other interests}
~~and freedom of others~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{oppress} ~~the~~
interests and rights of others over
which they can exercise control. ~~So~~
~~no safeguard it is I claim for~~
every individual in a community
the right to share in the distribution

of the power ^{by which the exercise of which} ~~that appoints~~ the
makers and executors of the laws
are appointed as the only guarantee
~~that he shall~~ ~~there shall not be~~
~~any oppressed or class~~
~~there not shall not be within the~~
~~community~~ ~~an oppressed~~
there shall not be found within it
an oppressed or insulted section.
In practical politics under a
representative system of government
this claim takes the primary form
of a demand for an equal vote
in the selection of the ~~governing~~
~~representative~~ of the law makers, and
the maxim of one man one vote is,
~~therefore the logical formula~~
when used without regard to sex
is the logical formula of a ~~gen~~
genuinely democratic suffrage.
But seeing that ~~even differ in~~
~~opinion~~ the very act of voting
implies an actual or possible

Difference of opinion ~~as to what~~
~~ought to be done~~ in regard to ~~any~~^{these}
~~every~~ ~~matter affecting~~ ~~to~~ upon which
the vote is taken we ~~are brought~~
~~have to accept~~ find that we have
~~as practical necessity~~ to accept the
decision of the majority as ~~practical~~
~~necessity~~ the actual process
by which laws are to be made,
and this fact brings us to the
vital question of the respective
rights of the majority and the
minority in a democracy.
Power wielded by a majority
may be used oppressively as ~~power~~
if exercised by a despot or
an oligarchy, and the doctrine
of the natural and fundamental
rights of the individual is as
condemnatory of the oppression in
the one case as in the other. But the
solution of the difficulty in a
genuine democracy will be found

in the combination of three factors
1st a system of election electing
representatives which will ensure
the presence in the legislature of represen-
tatives of all opinions, 2nd the
transitory composition of the ^{temporary} majority
of the hour and 3rd fundamental
laws for the protection of ^{the individual} ~~individual~~
natural rights, beyond the reach of the
majority of the hour. Among
these natural rights of the individual
so protected will be the right to
condemn and by ~~coercive~~ force
to within the limits of legal
forms to resist every law which
works an injustice to him. A
Democracy so organised will reduce
the actual power of the temporary
majority to the minimum compatible
with the ~~preservation~~ stability of its own
institutions and the preservation
of order, and to secure to every individual
the ~~freest~~ freest possible career

~~for the~~ ^{full} development of his
or her capacities of living. Therefore
this result is the highest mission
for which society and government
can exist and by this standard
~~with~~ every form of social organization
and every political institution be
~~judged~~ should be judged.

Lastly I am a democrat
because I believe ^{and I agree say in} in the power
~~and in the necessity~~ of ideals to ~~elevate~~ and purify
~~humanity~~ and elevate humanity
~~in whatever system~~ either in
the individual ~~or in~~ or in the
~~social and political~~ collective
life of the social and political organisms.
I can imagine ~~as~~ an antithesis
of the doctrine of the fundamental
rights ^{of man} admitting that ~~they~~ ^{degenerate}
~~democratic ideas~~ I have attempted
~~to exhibit it~~ to sketch it would
be a preferable state of society to any
other and would be worth striving

to establish if it were ~~attainable~~
practicable, but on the contrary
it must remain for ever in
consequence of the inherent imperfection
of humanity an unattained
and unattainable ideal, and
therefore the wisest thoughts in
regard to the organization of society
is to accept the artificial and
accidental inequalities which it
exhibits as inevitable and to
endeavour to distribute the task
work of maintaining and ~~for~~
~~controlling the government in~~
~~such a manner that life and~~
~~property and property~~ regulating the
~~social structure and political~~
~~structure~~ in such a manner
that those inequalities may be relied
upon as so many securities for
stability and order through the medium
of the self-interest ^{interests} and ^{personal} ambitions
of each member of the community.

I might reply primarily to such
a statement ~~as that~~ my saying
~~that it depicts an ideal~~ ^{the} ~~it depicts~~ ^{which}
has never been and never will
be att. realized in its entirety and
its perfection because the better
and higher elements of human
nature as manifested in the
deeds, saints and sages of the race
have always ^{refused} and ever will
refuse to ~~stay~~ ^{remain} content with
such environment and ^{being} ~~staying~~
^{men} and ever will strive to change it ⁱⁿ
Therefore the order and security ~~of~~
~~the~~ of society which the opponents
of democracy deem all important
and for the certainty of which they
would sacrifice all higher ideals
~~are not for us~~ have not any
any sure or ~~good~~ permanent
basis in the inequalities of ~~the~~
the conditions or capacities of men.
But the more direct answer

I desire to give to those who oppose
~~affine to the apparent opponents of~~
~~social and political idealism~~
condemn the Democratic ideal
as an unattainable Utopia is that
~~the assertion~~
~~movement in the law and the~~
~~condition of life the unattainable~~
~~are the only things not in the~~
~~sphere of physical and spiritual~~
that the law and condition of
~~vigorous vigorous life and~~
stability in the ~~world of the moral~~
~~and spiritual relations is~~
~~world of intellectual and~~
world of intellect and morals is
~~a perpetual striving and~~
a constant striving after the
unattainable. ~~As movement~~
as perpetual movement is the
law and condition of life ^{and growth} in
material organisms, so is there
an obligation laid upon ~~the individual~~
~~every~~ ^{people} men in their ~~moral~~
~~intellectual and moral relations~~

and intellectual natures to catch sight of higher levels of life ~~is to determine~~ and to strive to reach them or ~~to determine and decay.~~
This obligation follows men ^{inwardly} into their social and political relations with organisations and only by the unceasing efforts of ~~the~~ ^{a few} members of ~~the~~ ^{the} community it eye after eye and decade after decade to levels above which yet higher levels were visible has ~~the~~ humanity been carried along its ~~stony~~ and blood stained track from savagery to ^{the} civilisation of today.
It is the vision of an ~~higher~~ ideal ~~that~~ ^{higher than that} which the facts around him embody and the pursuit of it with ~~some~~ against all difficulty and opposition that makes the true hero and leader

men
among from the selfseeking
counterfeit who ^{uses the capacities} ~~uses the capacities~~
~~of others to instrument of the~~
~~day to blunder~~
~~other~~ and weaknesses of other men
as ^{this} instruments and ~~of~~ of his
own aggrandisement and ^{his} pleasures:
~~looked for contrast. Let us contrast~~
~~for a moment contrast the~~
~~avowed. Character the of with~~
~~an avowed contempt. The first~~
~~Napoleon I ^{openly} avowed his contempt~~
~~for all aspirations. A contempt~~
~~of all aspirations towards. The~~
~~avowed. The first Napoleon ^{distinctly} ~~openly~~~~
~~avowed his contempt for all~~
~~ideals in ^{ideals} ~~institutions~~ every ^{ideals} ~~aspiration~~~~
~~after that had contributed to produce~~
the Revolution on which he rode to
power and ^{openly} ~~appealed to the~~ ~~avowed~~
~~and lower~~ vanity and lower
ambitions of ~~every~~ ~~as he found them~~
Frenchmen as he found them for
the maintenance of his system of government!

"We have finished the romance
of the Revolution" said he, "it is
time to begin its history; to note
only what is real and possible
in the application of its principles,
and to ignore all that is merely
speculative and hypothetical",
and the climax of ~~the~~ his attempt
to shut out every glimpse of a
higher and nobler life for future
generations than that which his system
~~was~~ permitted was reached in the
publication of the official catechism
for the use of ~~every~~ all the schools in
France in which the children were
taught that to honour and serve the
Emperor was to honour and
serve God himself and that those
who should fail in their duties
towards him would be receiving the
order of God himself and would
render themselves worthy of eternal
damnation. ~~Let us contrast this~~

~~It is not with~~ From such
a degrading and ~~depressing~~ ^{and most} spectacle
let us to the remembrance of Washington
on taking the Chair as president
of the Convention ^{of the Convention} that framed the
Federal Constitution of the United States.

"If, to please the people, we offer what
the course has disapproved, from can
we afterwards defend our work.

Let us raise a standard to which
the wise and honest can repair."

In those immortal words of
Washington I have always believed
that there is the germ of the all
sufficient and effectual reply
to the arguments that are constantly
used in support of the monarchical
and aristocratical forms of the
British Constitution when comparing
its practical operation with that of the
Republican institutions. Some
of our friends are always telling us
that Englishmen live under a Government

that a truly republican in its character
as that which exists in the United States
of America and they delight in pointing
to the ~~political~~ corruption and demagoguery
that has disfigured so much of American
politics as proofs that republican
institutions are not guarantees for
honest and truly democratic
government. But who will
undertake to say that the corruption
would have been so fully exposed
and the demagoguery ^{unleashed} have assumed
a form in which its real nature
was so plainly manifest and therefore
~~as harmful~~ ^{as harmful} than the harm of half its
power to so much of undemocratic
and aristocratic forms. The fiercest
critics of American politics are
American patriots whose ~~republicanism~~
loyalty to the ~~or~~ constitution under
which they live and whose faith in
the merit of republican institutions
is measured by the very severity with

infinitely greater. The whole of the
official services of America, National
State and Municipal in all their
branches and departments except the
judiciary are steeped or tainted in
corruption, bribery, false hood and
maladministration, and the following
is tainted. The great cities reek with
respectable as much as more respectable
"Whorey and Roundhouse". I have
~~just~~ ~~for~~ ~~believed~~ Yet the same
critic tells us that "the movements of
the late secession war and their results
to any sense that the well and
comprehends them. Now the popular
Democracy what are its faults and
dangers practically just for itself by
the proudish claims and wild hopes
from the act of the the dependant
general inquiry showing indirectly
which includes all cases of crime -

of its enthusiasm. The reconciliation
~~is to be found~~ of these two estimates
is the found in the great frontiers
~~and the great frontiers~~ wide
field ^{frontiers} American democracy affords
for high ~~service~~ heroic service
and high character ~~in its citizens~~
~~and its associations~~ and the ~~many~~
perpetual provocations to educe them
which American democracy affords
and the magnificent responses
to these provocations by ~~a long line~~ ^{sneaking} ~~of~~ ^{citizens} ~~who~~ ^{whose} images
stretch in an unbroken line down
the vista of American history ~~from its~~
~~inspiring~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~wyng~~ and
inspiring ~~and~~ all succeeding
generations to ~~the~~ ~~up~~ ~~the~~ of American
citizens ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ to line
lines worthy of our great traditions. It is
with the vision of this long line
of heroes before all eyes that Lowell
wrote the lines with which I will

~~conclude this paper by saying~~
~~them~~ that we may well take
upon our lips the words of Longfellow
and regarding America as the
symbol and representative of
Democracy for all the world
and say

Paul O Union Strong and
free